

/345 cont./

241 The Chiriguano are proud of the extent of their fields.
115 "Captain" Katnapadyú made me walk over all of his, emphasizing its size and the abundance of its produce. Another Chiriguano, after taking me along across all of his plantations, without sparing me one plot of ground, told me as he was bringing me back, with an air at the same time proud and questioning: "Guapo yo" /I am enterprising/. I answered that he was indeed very "guapo." He seemed flattered and happy.

243 The father clears his daughter's field, which represents for
593 her a kind of dowry. The son-in-law must then take care of
583 it, do the sowing and reap the harvest (1). My guide Cipriano
606

[585] 1. Corrado (p. 155) states that young married couples live at the expense of their parents and that they do not cultivate any chacras nor build a house before having a child.

complained bitterly about his son-in-law, whose laziness had obliged him to harvest his daughter's corn himself.

Chapter III

Cooking and Food

Food Resources

433 I have eaten meat only very rarely in Chiriguano vil-
224 lages, and I have never had a chance to taste a piece of game.
178

It is not that this latter has disappeared from the region, exterminated by man, but the Chiriguano do not take the trouble to pursue it. In former days they were enthusiastic hunters, like nearly all the Indians of tropical America. When they were expecting guests for a drinking feast, the men went out into the bush and during 15 to 20 days got a good supply of the flesh of the peccary, deer, nandu, pigeon, armadillo,

[251] chufia /a wading bird/, and even parrot. To preserve it they dried it in the sun without salt (Nino, pp. 249-258).

7/345 cont. /

433 Outside these official expeditions they doubtless used to
224 hunt for pleasure or simply to interrupt the monotony of their
198 menu.

224 Quadrupeds were killed with arrows with lanceolate tips,
411 originally of wood, today of iron (Plates VIII and IX, 2);
small game, with arrows tipped with a barbed wooden rod
[223] (Plate IX, 3-5). Birds were taken in traps or felled with a
special arrow having a splayed ferrule (Plates X-XI).

224 Anyone who has seen the little dogs of the Chiriguano
[231] Indians, with elongated /346/ muzzle, pointed ears, short
hair, and arched tail will ask with surprise how animals so
miserable, stupid, and snappish could have been trained to
render service to man. Nevertheless, such seems to have
been the case. For hunting the peccary, for example, the
Indians employ the dogs, who track them and /Figs. 12 and
13 appear here/ force them to hide in their dens, from which
they are smoked out and felled with blows of a stick when they
try to run away. At least this is how the inhabitants of the
village of Saladito (upper Pilcomayo) told me they had
killed a peccary which they showed me at the time I was there.

433 For the modern Chiriguano, hunting has lost its reason
224 for existing as an activity having an economic character,
184 except perhaps /Plates VIII, IX, X, and XI appear here/
/347/ /Fig. 14 appears here/ for those of this nation who live
in the region of the upper Pilcomayo. At least this is the im-
[352] pression I had after examining their huts: the bedsteads or
[412] wooden cots were often covered with peccary skins and the
old deerhorn awls (Fig. 12) numerous enough to be able to be
exchanged for a trifle. The relative abundance of these ob-
jects proves that among these Indians hunting has not been
relegated /Fig. 15 appears here/ to the rank of a simple
sport and that it keeps, at least in part, its past importance.

[797] The contrast is striking if one then goes into the zone of the
Franciscan missions: there, more peccary skins, more
[411] perforators made of deerhorn, more ostrich feathers. In the
villages of the upper Pilcomayo there is no cabin, poor as it
may be, in which a bow and a bundle of arrows are not slipped

[Text Continues on p. 89]

/347 cont. /

433 between the roof beams. Once out of this region the ethnog-
224 rapher will have all the difficulties in the world to acquire
184 these weapons for his collections. If they are offered to him.
[417] they will be either a few souvenirs of former days kept by an
old man or crudely made specimens without any value other
than that of a toy or a sport accessory for some rare lover of
hunting.

224 The Indians of the semi-independent valley of Caipipendí
411 are still, in some villages, capable of making a bow and using
184 it. The arrows, which I bought from them in rather large
quantity, almost all belonged to a single type and were in-
tended, from what they told me, for killing the yakú (pavo
del monte /wild turkey/ (Penelope sp.). They are long reeds
armed with two barbed wooden rods (Plate IX. 1). One must
not conclude that the yakú, abundant as they may be, rep-
[433] resent an appreciable food resource. Besides, hunting is
[126] scarcely practiced except by the young men, who do it for
[425] fun. The Indian who gave up to me the handsomest lot of
these arrows felt some remorse about it; for, as he explained
to me, /348/ they belonged to his little boy, who would not
fail to cry when he found out that his father had sold them
without his consent.

857 Chiriguano children are even more ardent about shoot-
868 ing with a bow than ours. One can see them run around the
224 village trying to shoot down with little miniature arrows
(Plate XII/ 2 and 4) the birds which light within their reach.
Contrary to what took place formerly, once grown up they will
not benefit from the skill they have thus acquired. /Fig. 16
appears here. /

223 Some Indians of the Caipipendí valley sold me large
[126] bunches of nandu feathers. I could not find out whether they
had taken them from birds killed in the region or whether they
had been hunting them in the east nearer to the great deserts.
That would not have been at all improbable, for nandus are
certainly not numerous in this region; in a month's stay I
did not see any. These feathers serve for fashioning /Fig. 17
287 appears here/ feather dusters, which the Chiriguano sell in the
439

[Text continues on p. 91]

/348 cont./

half-breed villages. For the meager profits which this trade brings them they undertake long trips and even go as far as Sucre, where they are paid two to three pesos for each feather duster.

Hunting lost its importance from the day when the Chiriguano began to have cattle. Already about 20 years ago, those who /Plate XII appears here/ /349/ had several sheep, goats, cows, or even chickens did not take the trouble to accompany their comrades into the bush in search of game. What is the use of tiring oneself out running after peccaries for long days and risking getting oneself disemboweled or coming back empty-handed if just by staying home one can treat one's guests with some roast of meat or chicken broth?

The price of cattle has gone down a good deal these last years, and the Indians no longer need to go to the sugar mills of Argentina in order to come back with a cow or two in recompense for four to five months of hard work. Goats, sheep, and pigs are valued at two to four pesos apiece and it is often even a question of "prices for foreigners." A cow currently costs from 25 to 30 pesos, and an economical Indian has the means to acquire several during his life. Little by little, in each village modest herds have been formed, which the Indians care for like treasures. They husband them carefully, like all primitive peoples who raise cattle. They almost never kill their cow, and they sacrifice only rarely a goat or a sheep to their gluttony (1). In showing themselves to be so economical

1. In former times they used to feel an unconquerable repugnance toward pork, which is dissipating nowadays (Nino, p. 252).

they are not obeying any superstition but simply are afraid to diminish their capital. The wealth of an Indian is gauged by the number of his cows; and, in their Spanish jargon, "vacudo" /vacu, "cow"/ is a synonym for rich (2). Some of them have a

2. An Indian of Nawirenda had as many as 40 head of cattle.

[Text continues on p. 93]

/3 cont./

133 The lakes are natural, but not permanent; they are
 [135] many and large; in some the water is very good, but from
 [132] others not even the cattle /4/ drink, because it contains so
 much saltpeter. They all receive water from the sky, which
 sometimes falls with great force and fills them at a single
 time. White Christians are now making artificial lakes,
 especially in the Gran Chaco and in the vicinity of Caipipendi.
 291 When water is completely lacking, the Indian scratches the
 824 ground, looking for the root of the "nipay," samolo, which is
 as large as a watermelon; he cuts it at the top, squeezes the
 pulp with his hand, it turns to water, and he drinks; thus the need
 is met, but when this drink is taken for a long period, it gives
 rise to sickness.

311 The land lends itself to farming and to cattle raising,
 312 but both industries diminish in those years when the beneficial
 433 action of the rains is scarce. Then the crops are lost, and the
 132 cattle die from lack of food and from the great amounts of
 water that they drink from the rivers and lakes on whose banks
 they stay through lack of energy; nonetheless this rarely hap-
 pens throughout the region, which, because of embracing a
 wide area, in one place or another receives showers which re-
 new nature.

Extent and Area

131 The Chiriguano tribe or race was extremely numerous and
 [161] thus once took in an extraordinarily large area; traces of these
 [44] Indians are found in the vicinity of Tarija, and they may be
 found beyond Santa Cruz, where even today Chiriguano men and
 women are in larger part those in domestic service with the
 genteel families. Toward the capital of the Republic the
 Indians still remember that their grandparents used to live in
 Tacopaya and even beyond, in Talisco, included in the same
 district. Then they extended toward the Bermejo River and,
 finally, eastward to within a few leagues of Carandaiti, where the
 arid zone, inhabited by the Toba and other savages, begins.

/4 cont./

131 Thus formerly the Chiriguano territory in the north was contiguous with the province of Sara, in the south and southwest with Argentina and the city of Tarija, in the west with Tarabuco country, and in the east with the colony of Carandaiti. According to its former boundaries, it then included an area of 200 leagues from north to south and southwest, and more than 90 leagues west to east.

131 Today this extensive territory has been much reduced because of emigration, caused in part by the whites, under whose dominion most of them will not resign themselves to staying; the plagues which decimate the race have a powerful influence on its further reduction, and very soon /5/ barely the name will remain. Today to the north it scarcely reaches Abapó, to the south, Itiyuru de Yacuiba, to the west, Monteagudo, and to the east, Carandaiti, some hundred leagues from north to south and about 40 from west to east.

131 Formerly it embraced several degrees of latitude and three and a half of longitude; as they lost a considerable part of this area, so will they end up by losing it all, for despite their being heirs to the country which God had given them, as one of them was saying to me not long ago, they do not know how to farm it and improve their agriculture; they prefer to go far away and work for others rather than to own land at home. This very day only a few leagues remain in the hands of the Indians, Caipipendi in the province of Cordillera, Gutierrez Canton, and all the territory occupied by the missions, but both are likely to pass into foreign hands, because in fact the Indian is incapable of making the land that he does possess bear fruit; then the few survivors in the territory will be servants in their own house, as are so many others in lands that were once their own.

31/ 134
[132] The land is very unstable, at least that now occupied; it lacks stone and gravel, and since in their season the rains are torrential, they easily open cracks which in a few years become wide, deep ravines. Contributing a great deal to this are the cattle, which, because of their weight, stir up the land with their hoofs more than other livestock; for this reason

/14 cont./

211
312
244 The closer the traveler gets to the Gran Chaco, the less water and the less fertility he finds; the very fields of Yvu are patent proof, for crops are rarely abundant there. When the rains are torrential in other sections, they are sparse in Yvu; the farther to the west one travels from Aguaragüe, the more fertile is the land, because the hills and hillocks are more frequent and higher, water more abundant, and consequently the land more moist, which is necessary for agricultural production.

The fields are suitable for raising cows and horses, for the multiplication of sheep and pigs; the year when it fails to rain, however, there is lack of food for the livestock, as well as lack of water, the suffering is great, and numbers die near the waters which are found at some distance from the spots where there is feed, such as the slopes of the hills and the tops of the hillocks, abounding in tree leaves.

137 The countryside is clothed with grasses in the summer, but the region begins to turn beautiful in the spring and even earlier. The vigorous woods, dry and leafless during the cold months, begin to dress in verdant foliage at the beginning of the month of September, and in a few days nature is rejuvenated. Then it is very lovely to contemplate from some slight rise a broad pampa where there are carob trees, groves of catalpas or lapachos, the first green, the second red, and the third yellow and purple.

241
192
[132]
[433] The territory is productive only in the rainy season, because the Chiriguano in general will not take the trouble to put in a good irrigation ditch when he can; he waits for it all from the high heavens. Miracles could have been worked on the banks of the rivers in times past; today it is difficult because they are very few and, like their grandparents, are satisfied with maize, a little sugar cane, and other delicacies, like sweet potatoes or batatas, mandioca, and peanuts.

241
[221] Large-scale planting begins at the end of November or the beginning of December, after the country has been watered by two or three abundant rains. The maize grows very high and, when there is no lack of water, produces two or three ears on each stalk. The frijoles produce three crops. The sugar cane

/14 cont./

241 grows up to two meters and even more, the mandioca /15/ produces one arroba per plant, and the sweet potato even more because a single plant can spread and extend eight or ten meters, being productive in every root put in the ground, just so it is suitably covered with earth there.

311 The fertility of the region which I describe cannot be doubted, but the inhabitants do not cultivate it. If in this area there were persons who liked to work, the land would produce more; for this is of no use to mestizo people either, since he who was a peon in Sucre or Tarija wants to be a gentleman here because he is not a Chiriguano, as a result of which the very banks of the rivers, those shores of the Parapiti and Río Grande which appear to be beckoning the farmer, remain almost uncultivated. Ticucha Canton is another area where a colony of foreigners would work miracles, planting vineyards and fruit trees and so many other products that could be developed there; the same could be said of so many other sites.

[245] It seems that the grape does not grow in certain places, but this is because it has not been tried. Not long ago the missionary padre of San Antonio del Parapiti planted some 200 vine stocks. Who would believe it? Within six months some plants yielded quite ripe fruit, and the plants developed in an extraordinary fashion. In nearly all the missions there is cultivation of the vineyard, and in Charagua it is on a large scale through the work of foreigners; therefore what is needed are thinking men and good farmers in order to make these beautiful lands productive, especially along the river banks, where sugar-cane plantations, banana plantations, coffee fields, vineyards, and so many other things that are productive here could be established.

433
241 From the foot of Padilla Hill the forest is very vigorous and continues so to the east until it ends at Aguasagüe. Fig trees yield with little cultivation, the nopal with none at all since it flourishes on hillocks and hills and, such an agreeable and refreshing fruit, is the principal occupant. Chirimoyas, oranges, lemons, and guavas also grow, as well as onions and

/15 cont./

• 433
241 sweet potatoes; cotton grows everywhere, tomatoes and garlic mature the year round, and in the gardens lettuce, cabbage, cauliflower, and peppers create the beauty of a spot, without taking into account the gastronomic advantages. Even the peach trees would yield fine fruits, but they suffer much from the black butterflies, which damage them before they ripen.

Without work the land will produce only briars and brambles, and /16/ as long as there are only Chiriguano and cattle ranches here, progress will be slight and the population sparse, because the Indian has no ambition, and life is relatively inexpensive; the whites prosper by taking good care of their livestock, and no greater fertility can be obtained from the land because the holdings of a few families are very extensive and do not facilitate the residence of numerous renters, who do not always give good results nor do all come or ask to rent for farming alone. All of them want to get rich easily and quickly, and the best way is to raise stock, the result of which is that great areas of briars and brambles exist.

- Flora

13 In the course of this hasty description I have noted that in Chiriguano country atmospheric changes are very sudden, but it has been noted that the region is quite fertile when it is watered by the rains or by irrigation ditches, because small rivers are plentiful, particularly in the mountainous region, and an occasional river of some size bathes the adjacent territories with its abundant waters.

There are many hills, pampas, and valleys, and for this reason every kind of climate may be found in this territory.

[37] There are in fact oppressive heat, intense cold, and a temperate climate, thus making it possible to find land for every product from the lowly gourd to the savory chirimoya, from the ubiquitous maize to wheat, rice, and barley, from the mulberry /mora/, which grows spontaneously, to the rich grape, whose bunches reach weights of three and four libras.

/to cont./

124
169

When experience showed them that they could settle in the regions which they occupy today because the harvests were certain, they made their homes there and, when invaded, defended the territory at all costs, as has been seen.

241
433
(261)

The region, as was seen in the first chapter, is certainly very fertile; when it is irrigated by rain, it produces every type of cereal; maize matures exuberantly, and the crops are splendid with little labor. If the fields are kept free of weeds with a couple of weeding hooks and there is no lack of rain, the Chiriguano can sing all year around the big chicha bowl in the company of his friends.

433
241
511
(131)

But if rain is scarce, the crops are generally lost, and then the Chiriguano suffers, digs roots for his food, and sells everything he has, even his trousers and his wife's new tipoy, in order to support his poor family miserably. In times of scarcity the Indian plants with considerable hope a small patch where it is damp, such as around a lake or /77/ along some stream; plantings of this type are called sucorro /succor/, and in fact they are, when roots can scarcely be found. Oh a few green gourd leaves at this time are like syrup in the Chiriguano's mouth! Poor Indian!

Language

192
(101)

By what has already been related it can easily be understood that the Chiriguano are descendants of the Guaraní of Paraguay; thus the Chiriguano language is very analogous to Guaraní, as well as the Guasayo language, and it can be stated as a fact that both the Guasayo and the Chiriguano languages have the same relationship to Guaraní as that which exists among the Spanish, French, and Italian languages with respect to the Latin language, which is their mother (1).

(194)
(171)

1. The Chiriguano language has very few accented words; in Guaraní they are abundant. For example, "shati," maize.

Ee
531
177
/236 cont. /

The younger generation, I fear, will prefer German porcelain and enamelware, and with that the Chiriguano and Chané art will become part of the many fine and beautiful things that will disappear before the brutal civilization of the white man. In many villages one is already obliged to rummage around in the corners of the huts if one wishes to find vessels painted with a sure hand and natural taste. The worst thing, however, is that the whites are beginning to take pleasure in the clay vessels of the Indians. This brings about mass production. For the whites everything is good enough, it need be neither beautiful nor well done. They do not want the tasteful and simple, but the garnish and strange, "curiosidades," as the Creole says. Our museums must beware of these curiosities, for they give a mistaken idea of what is truly Indian.

Ee
273
The women brew beer for the festival. This is supposed to be made with maize (preferably yellow or white), and only the poor Chané on the Rio Parapiti must often content themselves with beer made out of sweet potatoes. If algarroba is available, beer is also brewed from this fruit. "It is good and intoxicates so nicely," say the Indians.

Ee
527
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433
• /237/ If the maize harvest is abundant, there is joy in the villages; then there is food and drink in every hut. If the maize crop has failed, there is no joy, stomachs are empty, and it is quiet on the festival plaza. If the granaries are full of maize, the Indian is proud and does not care about whites, suppression, and trouble. If the barn is empty, he is subservient and morose.

Ee
273
After the women have fetched the maize from the granaries and the men have brought wood and the women water, /Fig. 117 appears here/ the brewing commences. First the maize is pounded in large mortars. Day and night one hears the busy women pounding. The pounded maize is sifted and then mixed with water in huge clay vessels and boiled. Then a portion is taken out, chewed, and mixed well with saliva. This is then poured into the rest and, after it has been strained, must ferment in large open vessels with a little heat. The pots are stirred with large wooden spatulas

Ce
343 /18 cont./ Their Purpose
182 today among the Chiriguano and Chané, as well as among
171 the Matako and Churupí, is primarily to protect certain pro-
231 visions against the numerous dogs and other domestic animals
who are around in great number in every part of the town (74).

74. Concerning the question of the purpose of
houses built upon posts with respect to damage
by animals, cf. v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 192-198.

Ce
433 Food and Drink. Manner of Eating and Drinking.

224 Hunting and fishing are not very important in the economy
226 of the Chiriguano and Chané. Their territory has relatively
few edible animals, and they are not very brave hunters (75).

75. Nord. 2, p. XVI.

Ce
224 Of animals that can be hunted, they eat the puma and the
262 jaguar, while they scorn vultures, foxes, and the meat of
monkeys, so craved by other Indians (76). One contribution

Ce
226 76. Nord. 1, p. 190.
184

to their subsistence which is worth mentioning is that from fishing,
but only for the Chiriguano and Chané who live near the upper
Pilcomayo River, since that river has excellent fishing. These
Indians cannot make much use of fishing in the Rio Grande,
because today this river can be held to be almost the frontier
of their territory. The Parapití River has many fish, but they
are very small. While the Chané today live in territories
where for several months some fish are available, many
Chiriguano towns are so far from the larger streams that fish
does not enter into the diet of their inhabitants (77). With

77. Nord. 2, pp. XV and XVI.

/39 cont./

cc
23 Tamed wild animals are rarely found inside their houses,
except that they do have some parrots (182) /see footnote
182 above/.

Hunting

cc
224 We have explained before that, because of the lack of
[433] animals that can be eaten in the territory of the Chiriguano
[411] and Chané, hunting is secondary among their means of sub-
[439] sistence, and in accordance with this we know through old
documents that the feathers for their arrows were introduced
to the Chiriguano by other Indian tribes who were their tribu-
taries (183). The raising of domestic livestock gives them a

183. Moreno II, 121.

cc
224 greater opportunity to obtain animal foodstuffs. In accordance
with the fact that the Chiriguano, at least today, are not first-
class hunters, the most common method of hunting among
223 them is the use of traps (184). Nordenskiöld describes three

184. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 205.

different kinds of traps, all three of which are used for catching
birds (185). The first kind consists of a simple noose and is used

185. Nord. 2, pp. 32, 33, and 85, Fig. 10,
12, and 13.

C
[171] with the help of calls. The second kind, which is common among
various other tribes of Indians, is used, for example, also by
the Kaingua /Caingua/. The third kind consists of a net made
cc
[973] in two parts and fixed to the ground by means of stakes. In one
[223] of the Chané legends recorded by Nordenskiöld, a trap for
catching doves is mentioned (186).

186. Nord. 1, p. 279.

^C
411
197 /43 cont. / The Chiriguano in Contact
with the Quichua /Quechua/ also use another type of sling
made of wool (200).

200. Métraux 1, p. 342 and Plate VII.

^C
224
[41] According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano also formerly
used the bola, called "churima," by them, for hunting the
ostrich (201).

201. Nord. 1, p. 183.

^C
[231] We must still mention that the Chiriguano train their dogs
for hunting, especially for hunting pigs (202).

202. Nord. 2, p. 31. Métraux 1, p. 346.

Fishing

● ^C
433
226 Because, as I have already mentioned, there is no op-
portunity for fishing in any part of the Chiriguano territory
and also the large rivers which are in their territory, except
for the upper Pilcomayo River, do not offer any fish other
than very small ones, fishing has only secondary importance
in the economy of most of the Chiriguano, although they
utilize every chance they have to fish.

^C
227 Among the Chiriguano in Machareti I did not see any
fishing equipment outside of the small arrows with wire points,
which are occasionally used for fishing. But among the Izozó
^{ce}
126 I acquired such a piece of equipment, which consists of a
227 net bag that is closed at the top with two sticks of cane
attached to the upper edge. (Cf. Figure 39.)

/86 cont./

The inequalities which formerly existed between the class of the Chiriguano themselves and the class of their subjects, which was for the most part made up of Chané, is no longer important today, since the latter were emancipated at the end of the last century, and they again have their own great caciques and ordinary caciques. Beyond the fact that the family to which the caciques belong has a certain preference (332) today, scarcely

332. Nord. 1, p. 230.

any difference exists today among the members of the same Chiriguano community with respect to their economy. But such a difference indeed exists among the various communities themselves, depending on the conditions of production in the different places. Also today, since the emancipation of the Chané, the work is distributed, more or less equally among the members of the community of the same sex. The great cacique and his wife take part in communal labor. Only a few Indians are exempt from this rule, and they are those who have accommodated themselves to the modern situation and send members of their own tribe to work as servants (333).

333. Nord. 1, p. 231.

Inequality of practical importance exists almost solely between the two sexes, and especially with regard to the distribution of labor. With regard to the supplying of /87/ necessities, this inequality between the sexes does not appear, but only in the fact that the men and the women eat apart and the men in general eat first and women and children later (334). Nordenskiöld has

334. Nord. 1, p. 189.

made up an exact scheme of the distribution of labor between men and women (335) /there is no footnote bearing this number/. According to this scheme, the following work is apportioned only to men: hunting, planting, and clearing, woodworking, twisting